

## [NO. 286.]

11. The Custom-House Regulation Bill.  
This subject is now in the hands of the committee on commerce, in the House. They

The border difficulties between Michigan and Ohio, have again broken out. We see it stated that Mr. Horner, the Governor of Michigan, has arrived at Washington on business relative to that territory.

applicant for any of the crumbs which have fallen from the Executive table. I repeat, that I have looked exclusively to the people of Virginia, and when they have extended to me their confidence for twenty odd years—when I am indebted to them for whatsoever of credit and standing I possess in the world—I cannot and will not permit myself to remain in the Senate for a moment beyond the time that their accredited organs shall instruct me that my services are no longer acceptable. If gratitude for the past did not, my own conscious

If the Senate has a right to tow the Journal under instructions, it has a right to do so without—If to cancel a part, a right in exchange the whole. If to use ink from a pen a right to pour it from a bottle—to destroy the Journal in any other way—to burn it—to make a bauble of all that is bright and glorious in our history. I know it has been said that the process directed to be adopted by your resolution is not designed to exempt. I cannot believe this, and reject it as equally injurious to yourselves and unjust to those you represent. You direct the words "Expunged by order of the Senate," to be written across the resolutions on which you propose to make war. I will not believe that you merely design to chastise my conscience—much less will I indulge for a moment the idea that you direct a falsehood to be recorded by me. Those do not understand you who make such ascriptions, and I am not misled by them. The General Assembly of a proud and lofty State, is incapable of a petty quibble, and such an one would disgrace a King's justice. No gentleman, the act which you direct to be performed, is deemed to be, and equivalent to, an actual obliteration in all its practical results. The manner of accomplishing this act of excommunication, is wholly immaterial. In publishing *this journal from time to time* hereafter, the resolution thus cancelled cannot be published as a part of it. It is declared to be *expunged* upon its face. But, in this I could possibly be mistaken—if, after all, it is merely child's play—the making a few flourishes, and putting the Secretary of the Senate to the trouble to write a few unmeaning words, the question would not be changed. Such as is the journal, so shall it be kept, unaltered in a letter, unchanged in a comma—the same as it now is, "to the last syllable of recorded time." Such is the fiat of the Constitution. There is not a single clerk or deputy clerk in the Commonwealth of Virginia who would execute such an order in regard to his records. The people would be alive in the question, and in vindication of their rights, would *repeal the Court* sooner than permit the record contain- ing the titles to their estates to be cancelled in any

In your efforts to vindicate the President, you have cast on me, in common with others, the very reproach which you are pleased to regard so offensive in reference to him. You have publicly, and before the world, declared a resolution for which I voted, to be "subversive of the rights of the House of Representatives and the fundamental principles of free government." If, on design to charge me with impurity of motive in the vote thus given, your accusation would imply the highest censure. But this I do not ascribe to you. You intend to say no more than that your judgment and opinion differs from that expressed by me upon the subject out of which grew the resolution of the Senate, and that the Senate committed an error, which in its efforts is calculated to subvert "the rights of the House of Representatives and the fundamental principles of free government." The censure which your resolution conveys, implies a want of correct judgment, on my part, in voting for that resolution, and nothing more. If this be your meaning—and I will not permit myself to think otherwise—I am yet to learn how I incur the hazard of subverting "the rights of the House of Representatives and the fundamental principles of free government," by having declared in substance, what as a member of the Senate I did by my vote declare, that the President had not taken his course, and that his conduct was "in derogation of the Constitution and laws." Have I done more in this, than you have done in your declaration? And if not, I submit it in all candor, to your dispassionate judgment, to say whether, if I was liable to trial on impeachment before, I would consider myself as having already pronounced upon my guilt in advance? I should certainly not dream of excepting to you as my judges; because, resting on my integrity of motive, I should feel confident of acquittal. There can be no guilt without a criminal design—and I am sure you would be among the last to ascribe to the President any criminality of design. Am I to understand you as declaring, that because the House of Representatives may originate an impeachment against the President or other officer of the Government, that Senate has no right to express an opinion as to any act of the President or other officer? No matter what may be the act, even if it annihilates the powers of the Senate—has it no power, inherent in all other bodies, of self-protection and defence? A Brennus may invade the body and sluck it by the head, and yet according to this, it has no authority to strike! Go to that venerable Patriarch